major chiefs in Karafuto.[43] The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,[44] and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,[45] who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones. Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violaters of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.[46] As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*: "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

[43] Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuhoku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.
[44] *Ezo Dan Hikki*.
[45] *SHS* 2: 303.
[46] *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 5.

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592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other [928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] [622] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was [562] strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [839] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. 595 The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokutsu*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

[P. 18(B)]

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidô, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

[P. 22 (B)]

105 421 tresses had so many more people to work for them that they became wealthier and wealthier.

● 592 556 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benevolence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

105 554 565 [557] 105 622 [273]

178 622 Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the communal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a nation because their economy never developed to the point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire, from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing. For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

[627] [623] 105 64 000

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Ainu Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

was searching for young sparrows. It looked very uncanny to see the reptile turning and twisting about in his progress, and I expected every moment to see him tumble down to the floor of the hut. Perhaps he was the mate of the one I had killed. Penri, who hated and feared such creatures, gave a frightened scream and stared above him in terror. I knew the old man had a long Japanese spear lying along the beams of his dwelling, and so the first thing I did was to grasp this weapon, take off its sheath and transfix the reptile with the sharp blade. Having killed him, I carried him out of the house and threw him away. But on coming in again, I found the chief full of indignation because I had killed the snake with his spear! He angrily told me that I might keep that spear, for, as it had killed a demon, he would have it no longer. "It is yours now and not mine," he said. I thought it was very kind of him to give it me, but after all it was fear, and not good will, which prompted him to do so. He was afraid, as I well know now, that the snake might retaliate for what had been done to him, but now, as it was my spear which had done the deed and not his, the vengeance would fall on me and not on him! This may sound very strange, but legends will appear as we go on which will show that such are common ideas among the Ainu people.

Chief Penri had his ancient mother living with him, and a veritable old hag she was. If I looked at her she always turned her back on me, and when it was quite necessary for her to face me it was always with a very savage, fierce eye and black scowl. If Mr. Black-Lily's wife was anything like her, I am not surprised at his not wanting to meet her hereafter. One face like that would surely spoil everything. If she thought her son was too communicative with me, she would show him such a malicious expression of face and give vent to such angry words that he would ask to be allowed to take a rest, and so we would go out and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

to the house and to work, preparing a *special dish. I filled the pounding trough to the brim with the dough.' [539]

"'As soon as I left the house that morning to go and dig up the bulbs, my husbands (plural) went off to catch seals. Presently they returned loaded with a fine catch. Every day up till this time I had taken the wet shoes from my husbands when they came in and hung them up to dry for them, but today I did not approach them when they arrived. As I was giving my sole attention to the special dish I was preparing, I made no attempt that day to take and hang up my husbands' wet shoes. My younger sister cooked their meat by herself and gave them to eat. Besides those belonging to the house, the neighbours also were invited to come and eat with them.** [595 592]

"'By the time they had partaken of the meat and had eaten it all up, I had finished making the special food and had filled many bowls with it. These I handed round to all present and they partook of this also. When the feast was over, the guests returned to their homes. Our family then retired to their sleeping places, but I myself kept all my clothes on, buckled on my belt, and thus lay down by the hearth. I did not go to bed.

"'One of my husbands soon went to sleep but the other found he could not rest, so came over and sat down by my side. He urged me with sweet words to retire to rest, but I would not do so. (*She was attired for a journey and prepared to set out at a moment's notice*). He soon left me and went off again to his bed, where he slept till morning, leaving me as I was.

*The special dish would consist of bulbs and roots of various kinds and berries mashed up together. It was regarded as a special delicacy and was often given to speed the parting guest. [262]

**It was a custom among the Ainu to invite their friends in to eat some of the good things they might happen to have come by, and some was also sent in to friends who could not be present. [573]

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

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The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

I

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil.

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship.

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

II

GROUP STRUCTURE

The Household.

594 The basic unit of Ainu social life was the simple family consisting of a
591 father, a mother and their unmarried children. The post-marital residence was usually virilocal; namely a son, when he got married, built a new house of his own near his parent's. But there was no rigid rule of virilocal residence. Thus a man sometimes went to live with his wife's father's territorial group (pp. 13 and 17).

592 The Ainu dwelling house, *chise*, was built for permanent use, wooden-
[342] framed, rectangular in plan and single-roomed. All the occupants of each
[354] house constituted one household, sleeping, cooking and eating together around a fireplace at the centre of the room.

Table 1.

		Local Groups in Upper Tokapchi						Local Groups in Satnai			
Names of Local Groups (ca. 1880-1885)		Kuttarashi	Nitap	Pipaushi	Kumaushi	Sanenkoro	Mosheushi	Nupokomap	Munhunki	Urekarip	Total
Total Number of Member Houses Identified		8	7	6	8	4	11	9	3	3	59
Composition of Occupants of Each House	Simple family	7	5	4	5	4	9	8	3	3	48
	A widow plus her eldest son's family	1			1						2
	A widow plus her unmarried children		1	1							2
	A widow (? plus her unmarried children)						1	1			2
	A widower plus his eldest son's family						1				1
	A widower (? plus his unmarried children)				1						1
	An unmarried woman										1
	An unmarried man				1						1
	Unmarried siblings			1							1

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1.

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise;* associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise;* a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san;* open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma;* and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi;* a skinning spot, *iri an ushi;* a site for the preparation of fish, *chep karu ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi:* and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI.

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.
Upper Tokapchi Valley.

			Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R.G.	S.I.G.	L.G.	Kuttarashi	6
			Pennai	2
		L.G.	Nitmap	7
		L.G.	Pipaushi	6
		L.G.	Kumaushi	8
		L.G.	Sanenkoro	4
		L.G.	Moseushi	6
			Nyashikeshi	3
			Fulka	1
			Sarunnai	1
		L.G.	Penke-Pipaushi	?2 or 3

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

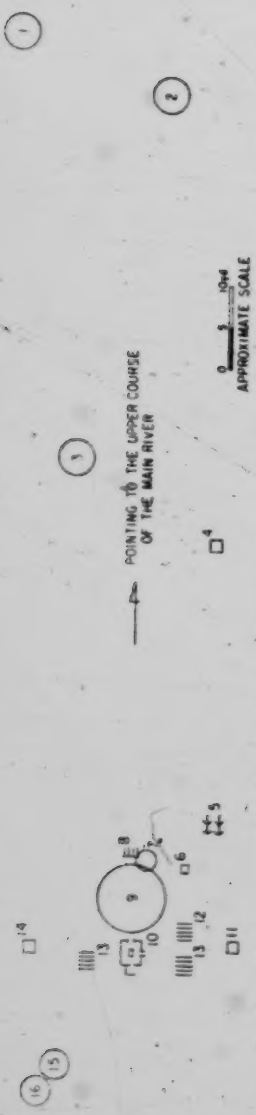

Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60-62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[1]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male households and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan (or utaru) spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

average number being one or two. To the Ainu the *urai* was the commonest and most essential of fishing gear second to the *marek* in importance.

The Weir.

The weir, *tesh*, was made of a wattle-work screen tied to a row of wooden piles driven across the streams (Fig. 2, d). By this means the Ainu intercepted ascending cherry salmon and, in some cases, dace. The *tesh* was the chief fishing device indispensable in particular for catching ascending cherry salmon. By custom one end of the weir was always left open so as not to shut the entire passage to the fish. Close below lay one or two platforms, on each of which stood one Ainu manipulating a small handnet, *tesh koru ya* or *pon ya*, and caught fish turning back from the weir. The *tesh* was set in a wadable shallow in the way of run, usually the deeper and slower of the streams devided by shoals in the main stream, *pet netoba*. The device was generally used by night when the fish made their way upstream intensively. It was prepared and constructed either by two or three families working together or by a single family. The wattle work for the screen by women and its setting up by men were directed by some able member of the *tesh*-group (p. 59, the chart), usually an elderly male.

The Bag-net.

The net, *yaroshiki ya*, was a rectangular bag-net with a handle attached at each end (Fig. 2, f). Nets of the same name and similar shape were used for both dog salmon and cherry salmon, but the meshes were coarser in one for dog salmon than for cherry salmon. In operating the bag-net, two operators held it in position by the handle at each end with the mouth turned upstream and caught fish as they were chased in by a driver. The device was used in the daytime around pools, *ooi*, or deposited roots of drift-wood near the spawning grounds, where fish concentrated by day lurking inactive. For dog salmon it was employed in the main streams where there were densely-distributed spawning beds. For cherry salmon it was effectively used also in glens or side streams. Those places exploited with the bag-net were also where the *marek*-spearer worked by day, so that the same daytime spearer served as the driver in the bag-net fishing party.

Bag-net fishing was conducted by a single family or by cooperation of a net-group formed by two or three families usually from one and the same settlement (p. 59, the chart). The net was made of plant fibre. It was used by the members of the group who had made it. When more than one family participated, the team of three necessary for the work was drawn by custom from the different families. When part of the member families used it, the catch was shared by all the member families.

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which will be described later. On the other hand, in downstream areas where there were fewer spawning grounds of dog salmon in and around which Ainu fishing technique mostly suited, trawling was the most efficient mass technique. Fishing with the trawl-net, requiring as it did a pair of dugouts, two net-operators and two boatmen besides the net itself, was conducted by male and female members from at least two families forming a trawling group.

The Meshing-net.

This was a small-sized fixed net, stretched upright in a straight line across the stream to mesh fish striking it. Though not used by groups on the upper Tokapchi and the Otopuke, the net, *chama ya*, seems to have been in extensive use for dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace, in areas on the lower Tokapchi. Clear evidences for the use of the net were obtained from Azuma, Mukawa and Shikot. It was set in position between a deep whirling pool and the main current parallel to the latter so as to entangle ascending fish as they swept round with the whirlpool. The device played an important part in catching early and scattered runs of fishes. When spawning began and the fish ran in shoals, it gave its leading place to spearing and trawling. A dugout was required for setting the net and for going round to see and take in the haul. The net was made and used by an individual family.

The Rectangular Basket-trap.

The trap, *kutu*, consisted of three parts: a V-shaped wattle or stone fence, a leading trough of woven twigs with one end pointing downstream and put up against the top of the fence and the other submerged and pointing upstream, and a wattle-work basket fixed to that end of the trough rising above the water. Fish shooting downstream were stranded on the trough and were taken automatically in the basket. The device was in use for instance among the Ainu in Shikot and Mukawa shortly after the land allotment for the capture of dace, cherry salmon and even dog salmon, although there is no evidence for its use in Tokachi, Otopuke and Azuma in the period under survey. It was applied most effectively to rapids where there was some head of water and where descending fish were swept down in the current with little chance of turning back. The use of the *kutu* was accordingly limited to the upper-stream groups on some particular river courses.

Fishing Activities.

Spring Fishing.

With the disappearance of the base snow from the plains, the whole Ainu population suddenly emerged from their winter inactivity. In every Ainu household there was still some store of dried fish and meat left over from the old year.

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Cooperative Groups in Nitmap at ca. 1885[41]

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting: Group	Bear Hunting: Location of Hut	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Group	Deer Hunting: Deer-Fence Hunting: Location of Deer-Fence	Hunting in Winter Quarter: Group	Hunting in Winter Quarter: Location of Hut	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Group	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Main Stream: Location of Weir	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Tributary: Group	Weir Fishing (Cherry salmon): Tributary: Location of Hut	Bag-Net Fishing Group
No. 1	Shiokoro (H) Shudea (W) 4 Sons 2 Daughters	(A) A	Nipesho Iwotonraushi	a	On the way from Nitmap to Shintoku	Groups unidentifiable: Half of the hunters went to the upper courses of the Panke- and Penke-kinaushi glens, the rest to the upper courses of the Shintoku and Otash glens.		I	Susutaiful: Upstream	I	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	—
No. 2	Shurunke (H) Tutanomat (W) 4 Sons 3 Daughters	(B)	Tonuk-ariushpet Pishikachinai	b	On the way from Nitmap to Pekerepet			II	Susutaiful: Downstream	2	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	X
No. 3	Zarashi (H) Kouante (W) 4 Sons 5 Daughters	C C	Pannak-sahoro Shinoman-sahoro	c	Penkechin			III	Susutaiful: Midstream	3	On the Sohorun, between Shintuko and Otash	Y
No. 4	Shukemon (Ww) Aniainu (S) Ukae (S) 4 Daughters	B A		d d				II		2	(Later an independent group; see Note 41)	X
No. 5	Kapkotuk (H) Sakaramat (W) 1 Son	(D) B		d d	Penkechin			II		4	On the Sahorun, between Shintoko and Otash	Z
No. 6	Osareainu (H) Katunun (W) Tuishiruk (S) Ikintean (S) Katutaro (S) 1 Daughter	D D D —	Yukktorashi Certain area up the Sorapchi	d d d ?				II		2		X
No. 7	Retunun (Uw)							III		4		Z

H: Husband, W: Wife, Ww: Widow, Uw: Unmarried Woman, Um: Unmarried Man,
S: Son, (A): Formerly Group A but no longer hunting.

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Cooperative Groups in Pipaushi at ca. 1885[42].

House Number	Household Members	Bear Hunting		Weir [illegible]shing Tr[illegible]	
		Group	Location of Hut	Group	Location of Hut
No. 1	Chiokatupa (H) Tononkare (W) Uturusote (S) 1 Daughter	(A) A	Kutteki-un-pet farther up the Ochiai	1	On the Sahorun a little below Shimizu.
No. 2	Haukiainu (H) Katesan (W) Pepenouk (S) 1 Daughter	A		2	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun.
No. 3	Sayuturuk (Um) 2 Sisters (Uw)	A		?	
No. 4	Moirenise (Ww) 1 Daughter (Uw)			2	
No. 5	Isontomam (H) Ueash (W) Children	B	Sohshipet up the Saru river.	1	
No. 6	Chipreka (H) Wife (name unknown) 1 Son (Daughters not identified)	C	Unidentifiable	3	At the junction of the Pekerepet on the Sahorun

(Legend: See the chart for Nitmap)

unfavourably circumstanced, would return to their *kotan* to engage in deer hunting and salmon fishing. The leader, *shie sapane kuru*, of each party was generally its oldest member, and was responsible for all technical practices on the hunting sites, for guidance and supervision in ritual observances, and for the disposal and distribution of the game and catch.

In fishing, both men and women had an important part to play, but the chief techniques of men differed from those of women. Generally, men took to spearing and women to trapping. Among the major fishing gear, which were fish-spear, basket trap, bagnet and weir, the first two were made and used by each family, while the other two were constructed and manipulated by cooperative groups. The local groups on the upper Tokapchi made a seasonal trip annually to fixed fishing sites in smaller streams to catch cherry salmon, where it was their custom for each cooperative group to form a unit and live in one hut to cooperate in weir and bagnet fishing (p. 45; Map 2). The construction and manipulation of those bagnets and weir were placed under the scheme and guidance of one wise man among the members of the group, usually the oldest man. Cooperation was made also in other work

[p.79]

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.
621 Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group
[361] exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next
614 to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley
619 as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more
[186] at most *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

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backed by cosmology. Claim to the river valley as their territory; the members free to exploit without permission any resources in the valley except subterritories (hunting and fishing sites) maintained by various groups of lower order. The members potential colaborees in case of defence of their territory and a single unit in case of collective ritual against a catastrophic natural phenomenon.

2. The Ainu exploited their habitat by means of a set of techniques. Each of their gathering techniques, operated by an individual or in cooperation, was applied to each of specific resources in specific places at specific times; gathering techniques were linked in an order in terms of their spatial and temporal arrangement. Through the arrangement of technical devices and activities the Ainu ecological system was structured spatially and temporally. The spatio-temporal structure was closely connected with the cyclical changes in the habits of the biotic species exploited by them.

3. The periodical changes of those biotic species to which their ecological system was closely related took place approximately synchronically in different places. Accordingly the Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such a character, had to exploit resources in different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily and interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

4. Any of their gathering techniques can be manipulated by a single person or a family; the nature of techniques limits the scale of cooperation. Cooperation in gathering was usually between households in the same settlement. No more than three households cooperated in any kind of gathering activity.

5. Staple food-stuffs of the Ainu were gathered from a relatively narrow area surrounding their settlement and covering three ecological zones, i.e. the river along which they settled, its river banks and river terraces. Main hunting and fishing sites were fixed in location owing to the adaptability of their techniques to migrative habits of animals. Under these conditions, the Ainu were enabled to live in permanent settlement in spite of their dependence upon gathering life. Settlements, however, were usually small in size and were scattered along a river course in connection with the distribution of the spawning grounds of dog salman.

6. The Ainu maintained several categories of territories. The major category was the territory of a river group which covered the valley of a river as distinguished by the Ainu and was maintained throughout the four seasons.

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The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial group" ibid.. While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups" (ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks. "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekasni ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The chief (after much deliberation) calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent.... If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer) or *iyor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *uworu* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 58 of the *kotan*. As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his *itokpa* family mark) and *pase onkami* (*kamuiromi* ritual for some important *kamui*, or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, heir, the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikiraye*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikiraye*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *iyor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikiraye* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekashi ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

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important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19.

23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley.

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent.

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

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601 20. Male; his spouse and that of his brother (K22) were sisters.
621 23. Was named Pashuikokit; of unknown origin.
28. The only son of K10, brought up by N8; when grown up went home to his father. In all later years, whenever he had game, took some to N8 living at Nitmap leaving Kattarashi before daybreak. On these occasions N16, who was my informant's mother and N8's daughter, and some others gave him clothings and baskets of their making. See K10.
30. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
33. Blinded when young by a blow from a bear.
34. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Moseushi.
35. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Kumaushi.
36. Native of Kuttarashi and resident of Moseushi.

• [592] *Nitmap* (N) Seven houses; of which one was occupied by a widow (N16) and her unmarried children, another by an unmarried woman living alone (N20), and the rest each by a simple family. Except N15 who is a man from the neighbouring Satnai river area, all the male house-heads were brothers, their line of descent through males representing that of Nitmap headman.

1. Male; native of Nitmap descending through males from ancient Tokapchi Ainus.
2. Male; native of Tupet on the Ishikari and former husband of N3.
3. Female; also native of Tupet. Went with N4, her later husband, to Tokapchi, where they stayed about two years. On their way home to Ishikari a bear fell upon them and killed her husband. She escaped and took back to Tokapchi. Too old to marry again, she remained a widow until she died. See S7.
4. Male; native of Pepet on the river Ishikari.
5. Male; native of Nitmap.
6. Female; native of Tokapchi.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa, Ishikari; came as a bride to Nitmap.
8. Late headman of Nitmap.
9. Male; native of the Satnai river area.
10. Native of Shikaripet; went in marriage to Satnai, where she lost her husband (N9). Then went to live at Shikaripet with her young children (N15 and M6).
12. Then headman and "ottena" of Nitmap. See Note 9.
14. Came in marriage from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi coast.
15. Native of Satnai, grew up at Shikaripet. Came to Nitmap where he got married. Died while my informant, who is his fifth child, was

very young. 601 621

16. Female; her father (N8), who had only two daughters, was "loath to give her away" and she remained at Nitmap after her marriage. A widow now, she lived with her unmarried children.
19. Came from Kuttarashi as bride.
20. Remained a spinster all her life. At the time was living alone. For some time a man (ST25) was staying at Nitmap with an intention of taking her to wife; somehow he changed his mind and went away to Otopuke, where he married a local woman. The situation is ambiguous. Refer to ST25.

Pipaushi (P) 6 houses; of which one was occupied by an old widow (P8) and her unmarried daughter (P18), another by a young unmarried man (P19) and his two sisters; the rest were occupied each by a simple family. Two of the male house-heads (P7 and P15) were descended through a male line from Asahikawa people on the Ishikari. P7 in particular came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi himself and married a local woman. Of the other male househeads P9 was a descendant through the male line from an ancient Pipaushi native. The headman at the date was P6, a son of a man (P1) who came to live at Pipaushi, a brother of the fomer Nitmap headman (N8). [592]

1. Came from Nitmap; former headman of Pipaushi.
2. Native resident of Pipaushi; descendant through males of an ancient inhabitant of Pipaushi. Patrilineally related with S2; probably his elder brother.
3. Native of Pipaushi.
4. Came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived here since.
5. Came from Asahikawa as bride. Younger sister of the Chikapumi (Asahikawa) headman's wife.
6. Native of Pipaushi; its headman and "ottena" at the date. See Note 9.
7. Native of Asahikawa; came to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived since.
8. Native of Pipaushi; widowed, she lived with her unmarried daughter P18).
10. Native of Pipaushi; went to Sanenkoro, where he lived with a local woman he took to wife.
11. Native of Pipaushi; went to live at Kumaushi, where he married a local woman. After their daughters' marriages, moved again to Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the Tokapchi sea-coast and was not at Kumaushi at the date.

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13. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor. Was living at the time at another settlement Kumaushi where his sister (P12) had her home.
14. Native of Pipaushi. As reported, was married to a Kuttarashi man.
16. P15's first wife from Sanenkoro. Was drowned in a river. After her children had grown up, her husband took a second wife (KM26).
18. Unmarried last daughter living with her mother. After her mother's death, continued to live alone.
19. Unmarried young man. He and his two younger sisters lived by themselves away from their father (P15) and his second wife (KM26) "because she was not their real mother."

[592] *Kumaushi (KM)* 8 houses in all; of which one was occupied by a bachelor (P13; KM14) living alone, another by a widower (KM27) also living alone and yet another by a widow (P12) living together with her eldest son (KM20) and his wife and children. Of all the house-heads only two (KM10 and KM14, or P13) had come from other settlements to live at Kumaushi during their life-time. The headman was KM22; his ancestor (KM5) two generations before him through males had come from Nitmap and he was a patrilineal relative of its headman (N12). The three house-heads (KM27, 28 and 30) were brothers with K35 for their father, who came from Kuttarashi and married a local woman. These, together with the headmen of Nitmap (N12), Pipaushi (P6) and Kuttarashi (K17), are regarded as descendants through males from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu. As for the other house-heads, little is known about their ancestries except that KM6's father and KM2's father's father were both natives of Kumaushi.

1. Male; native of Asahikawa. On his way from Ishikari to Tokapchi he was drowned while crossing a river carrying his young daughter on his back. The child was rescued by Kuttarashi people.
2. Wife of KM1, a native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Her husband (KM1) went to Tokapchi leaving her at home. When he died and their daughter survived she went to live at Kuttarashi, where she was remarried to K1.
3. Male from Kumaushi.
4. Came as bride to a Kumaushi man. Native of Asahikawa in Ishikari but was brought up at Kuttarashi in Tokapchi.
5. Male; native of Nitmap. Partrilineal relative to N12.
6. Native of Kumaushi and its resident.
7. Came as bride from Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the sea-coast of Tokapchi.
8. Wife to a Kumaushi man.
9. Went to Shikaripet as bride.

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10. Male; native of Memroput. Married a Kumaushi woman and lived there. His mother lived at Memroput; his father had been killed by a bear. Had two sisters Enkoashi and Tutanomat; the latter was married to N12, the headman of Nitmap.
11. Native of Kumaushi. Went to live at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet where, as he said, there were plenty of deer to hunt. Father to Imonkuk.
12. Wife; native of Shikaripet.
13. Native resident of Kumaushi. Had been dead for some years; his wife (P12) lived with their eldest son (KM20) and his family.
14. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor.
15. Male from Kumaushi.
16. Native of Kumaushi; was married to a Pipaushi man but lived at Kumaushi.
17. Female; native resident of Kumaushi.
19. Went in marriage to the Satnai river area.
21. Young man; was away at some Japanese fishing grounds.
25. Native of Kumaushi; went in marriage to Sanenkoro.
26. Native of Kumaushi.
27. An eldest son; bereaved of his wife, was living alone.
28. Native of Kumaushi.
29. Native of Asahikawa; came from Penke Pipaushi as bride. See note on S11.

Sanenkoro (*S*) 4 houses; each occupied by a simple family. Of the 4 male house-heads 3 (S13, 14 and 18) were natives of Sanenkoro and 1 (P10) a native of another *kotan*, Pipaushi, who came to Sanenkoro, got married and became a resident. S18 was a patrilineal kinsman of the Nitmap headman (N12) with whom he had a common ancestor mark, *shine itokpa*. The father of S18's father (S2) and P10's father, it is reported, were siblings. The headman at the date was S13; he and S14 were sons of a man from the Ishikari river area (S1 who came here, married a local woman and settled down. A similar case concerning headmen will be seen with M3 of Moseushi.

1. Male; native of Ishikari.
2. Probably brother of P2; though full tracing of his lineage is difficult, was descended through male line from a common ancestor with the Nitmap headman, with whom he stood in a true (i.e. not by adoption) *shine itokpa* relationship.
4. Female; native of Sanenkoro.
5. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Had lived at one time at Pipaushi and died young. For his spouse and children see ST16.

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6. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and former spouse of S7.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Went on a visiting trip from Ishikari to Tokapchi in company with her husband (S6), their unmarried 3 daughters (S16, 17 and Yaitekka) and a married couple (N3 and 4). On their way back a bear fell upon them, killing S6 and N4. The women and the children survived and took back to Tokapchi. S7, still young enough, was remarried to S8 and lived at Sanenkoro, where her daughters also grew up.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
10. Was linked in patrilineal kinship to the headman of Nitmap.
11. Native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari; grew up, got married and lived at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet. When very young, he and his younger sister (KM 29) were brought by their parents migrating from Ishikari to Tokapchi. They came to Nitmap as strangers and went to the headman for help. After certain procedures they settled down at Penke Pipaushi.
12. Native of Sanenkoro. Went to Penke Pipaushi as bride. Had four children. While gathering wild grass, *trep*, was killed by a bear.
13. Native of Sanenkoro; the headman.
16. Native of Asahikawa; a first daughter; grew up at Sanenkoro. Went to Asahikawa as bride.
17. Native of Asahikawa; grew up at Sanenkoro.
18. Native of Sanenkoro; the only surviving male at the date of S10's children.

[592] *Moseushi* (*M*) 11 houses; of which one was inhabited by a widow (M10) living alone, another by an old widower, the headman (M3), with whom lived his son (M14) with wife and children. The remaining 9 houses were occupied each by a simple family. Those houses, belonging to the local group collectively called Moseushi, stood scattered at long intervals along the river Shikaripet. Farthest upstream near Sarunnai stood M7's house; about 2 miles lower came M9's; about 2 miles farther down, the 3 houses of M14, his sister Aresam and her spouse, and another sister of his and her hudband (M8). Then at Moseushi, about 100 to 130 yards yet farther down, came the remaining 6 houses. 7 male inhabitants of 6 out of the 11 houses (M3, 14, 17, 19, 7, 8 and 9) were linked by patrilineal kinship, being all descendants through males from Asahikawa natives on the river Ishikari. The remaining 3 household heads (M21, 22 and 25) were descended through male lines from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu and were sons of two brothers who had come from Kuttarashi to Moseushi, where they married local women. The Moseushi headman at the date was M3, a native of Asahikawa, the only information about whom

[Errata: the word "hudband" should read "husband"--Analyst]

[p.133]

IV

159 (41) Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-
• 592 operative activities among them.

224 Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from [648] about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer-hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the wintering centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir-fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves.

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kapkotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families staying with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut.

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu;

11: Watanabe B-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

159 592 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs formed a cooperative group.

224 476 226 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 592 224 476 42 Information concerning cooperative activities among member families of Pipaushi local group.

Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usashikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them.

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

(44) 1. Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2. Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to